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cases, and replies should be clarified and strengthened. The position of the plaintiff before the court, the order of oral arguments, the questioning by the tribunals, and other matters need careful study. The committee is inclined to agree that there is now no permanent court of arbitral justice—that there is only a permanent panel of judges. Granting that England, Germany, France, and the United States may have secretly agreed to constitute such a court, in accordance with the plan of Article 15 of the convention organizing the international prize court, as soon as the international prize court is set up and enough States have adhered to provide eighteen judges, yet the committee has little hope that such a court can be effectively organized until certain rules and questions have been studied and settled. For example, there is here also the question of representation, the larger powers insisting upon an actual majority of the judges, the smaller powers upon equality. Again, the question of expense is a serious question because the smaller cases, which constitute the majority, often involve amounts in controversy less than \$50,000. To try a case before a court of The Hague would involve all of this, and probably more. Then, too, there remains the suspicion, amounting almost to a fear, that a case tried so far from the local conditions cannot possibly receive a fair hearing.

Because of these difficulties, the committee suggests a series of courts. For example, each country might well appoint a judge who would serve as an adviser of the foreign office on the legal merits of international cases—indeed, who might hear cases of a minor nature, the principals involved understanding, of course, that they have the right of appeal. In addition, there might be a series of judicial circuits from fifteen to eighteen in number, a judge presiding over a court in each circuit, the court to sit in the defendant's country. These circuit courts would localize the arbitration, reduce the cost, and minimize the fear that the hearing would not be impartial. It is suggested that the circuit court might be final in certain classes of cases. Above this it is suggested that there might well be a "Hague Court" made up of circuit judges of the different circuits with appellate jurisdiction and original jurisdiction also in certain larger cases. Over this there might be a fourth court—a court of appeals or a "Court of the Nations," where every nation might be represented by a judge if the smaller powers should insist.

The committee believes that the permanent court of arbitration is important, that it is possible of attainment, that it should be thoroughly studied and evolved. The committee believes, further, in the principle of compulsory arbitration, and that the next convention might well pave the way for the practical adoption of such a principle.

There are ten pages devoted to the system of organization and procedure of the conference itself, and several pages devoted to the use of force in the recovery of contract debts. The rest of the report is devoted to the measures looking to the limitation of injuries and losses suffered by reason of war.

It is more glorious to slay war with the word than men with the sword.
—Saint Augustine.

The Meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society.

The semi-annual meeting of the board of directors of the American Peace Society was held at the Hotel Raleigh, Washington, D. C., Friday, December 5. Senator Theodore E. Burton, president of the society, presided at the morning session, and Dr. William I. Hull at the afternoon session. The report of the executive committee, the finances of the society, and other details engaged the attention of the morning session. The committee appointed by the chairman of the executive committee to study the function of the board of directors of the American Peace Society as a National Peace Council submitted its report, which was unanimously adopted. The report reads:

"After mature deliberation, the committee feels that the board of directors of the American Peace Society is, by virtue of its organization, essentially a National Peace Council; that as such it should be developed in scope and efficiency as time and circumstances permit. The committee recommends that all suggestions looking toward such a development be sent to the executive committee of the American Peace Society at the earliest possible time."

It was the unanimous opinion of the directors, expressed at the afternoon session, that there should be an appropriate celebration in 1915 of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the peace movement. It was voted that a committee be appointed by the executive committee from the board of directors to take into consideration the general plan for such a celebration.

Dr. J. W. Van Kirk, of Youngstown, Ohio, presented a peace flag to the society, which was accepted with a vote of thanks.

The following resolutions were adopted:

A Common Program of Work.

Resolved, That the following program of work be adopted by the board of directors of the American Peace Society, and that it be recommended to the constituent branches and auxiliaries of the National Society for their adoption in the immediate future:

1. That immediate steps should be taken by our Government to initiate international action for the calling of the Third Hague Conference and the creation of an international committee to prepare the program of the conference.
2. That the United States should offer to co-operate in the plan proposed by the First Lord of the British Admiralty in his proposal for an International Naval Holiday, which is to call a halt of a year in the construction of new battle ships, which proposition has been endorsed and broadened by the recent recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy.
3. That the United States should repeal the clause in the Panama Canal act exempting American coastwise shipping from the payment of tolls, or refer the dispute to arbitration.
4. That there should be a prompt renewal in their original, or in an improved form, of our arbitration treaties with Great Britain and all other nations in cases in which such treaties have expired.

Other Resolutions.

1. The directors of the American Peace Society, at their meeting in Washington, D. C., December 5, 1913, desire to express their deep gratitude to the President of the United States for his strong declaration at the forefront of his recent message to Congress in behalf of international peace and arbitration, and especially do we endorse his earnest request for the prompt ratification of the treaties of arbitration now awaiting renewal by the Senate.
2. We also express our profound satisfaction in the proposal of the Secretary of the Navy, broadening the recent

proposal of the First Lord of the British Admiralty, for international action in behalf of the joint limitation of the present monstrous naval armaments and expenditures of the nations.

3. We also desire to record our warm and grateful approval of the plan proposed by the present administration for the creation, by treaty, of international commissions of inquiry with the various nations of the world.

4. The directors of the American Peace Society express their grateful appreciation of the action of Congress at the last two sessions in the reduction of our battleship program, and we express the hope that this advanced and courageous policy will be maintained.

5. Whereas the maintenance of honorable peace between Great Britain and the United States for one hundred years, in spite of the bitter antagonism prevailing after the sanguinary wars of the Revolution and of 1812, and the many causes for friction which have since arisen, is a striking object-lesson of the practicability of peace through justice, even under difficult circumstances, and of the benefits arising therefrom; and whereas this century of peace is a fact of immense importance as a concrete illustration of what might result from the universal adoption of judicial settlement of disputes between nations, and is worthy of fitting commemoration:

Resolved, That the board of directors of the American Peace Society do hereby express their cordial sympathy with the movement for the appropriate celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, and do hereby request its executive committee to emphasize in the program of the society's annual meeting the local celebration of one hundred years of peace, and do hereby urge its constituent branches to take an active part, in co-operation with the national and local committees, of the proposed commemoration, to the end that the celebration may give added force to the movement for the settlement of all international differences by a court of justice.

Picture-makers and War-makers.

By William C. Allen.

The writer, while abroad during the summer of 1913, was so profoundly impressed with the psychological effect produced by the illustrated press of England in aiding to develop and extend the fever of militarism, which has that country within its grasp, that he purchased at random a typical copy of the popular weekly, *The Illustrated London News*, July 26, 1913, with the view of writing it up. Here is the result:

At the rear of this number, and mixed with advertisements, are six one-half pages devoted to various subjects. These one-half pages, because of their unimportant and inconspicuous position, need not be analyzed here, but the illustrations include a picture of the German Army Air-Ship Cruiser No. 1. We will, however, consider the character of the pictures on the prominent pages of this number.

All the space in eleven of the full pages that contain no advertisements is devoted to military suggestions or to the exploiting of the army and navy. Two others are largely so utilized. Two more also contain some picture or reference of a similar character. In contrast with the above fifteen full pages that have no advertisements, only ten are discovered that do not in some degree suggest militarism or explain the latest scientific methods of preparing to kill men.

This magnificent advertiser on behalf of the "War Traders" poses as a family magazine for Christian England! The frontispiece has a full-page picture of a dreadnaught "bunkering" in the open sea.

The next pictorial page is a fully illustrated one, and

exhibits "Naval Maneuvers on Land" and "hand-worked battleships," showing an ingenious method of training officers and men in fleet evolutions adopted by the New York Naval Militia. This is interesting to those engaged in the naval profession, and also helps to suggest to the British people that other countries are making great strides in naval affairs, and that it is necessary for England to further lavish money in competition.

The third page displays the portraits of five men, four of whom are army officials and one a scientist. On this page is an article by G. K. Chesterton, who, while writing on the subject of cranks, says:

"Now, I say it is a crime to tell a child that militarism is a crime. It is giving the child a false conscience at the very time when the conscience is most direct and most realistic. * * * To tell a child that militarism is a crime appears to me to be simply a wicked act," etc.

The fourth page is full of illustrations, most of which are devoted to showing the horrors of war and exhibiting "some of the worst atrocities of which the Bulgarians are accused." A picture of one ruined town is supplemented by the comment: "We believe absolutely that at least 470 villagers have been killed or burnt alive in this town alone." It is an interesting coincidence that this page containing various pictures that comment and exhibit the horrors of war exactly faces the above-mentioned statement on the third page that "it is a crime to tell a child that militarism is a crime."

The fifth and sixth pictorial pages of this family magazine have on them a double-page picture representing the Restoration by George V of a Ceremony Installing Knights of the Bath, which ceremony had just previously been celebrated in Westminster Abbey. This big picture indicates the dramatic moment when the Great Master and Knights of the Order offered their swords to the altar, and when the Dean restored his sword to the Great Master with this admonition: "I exhort and admonish you to use your sword to the Glory of God, the Defense of the Gospel, the Maintenance of your Sovereign's Right and Honor, and of all Equity and Justice, to the utmost of your Power." We all understand that this exhortation means that only the British nation and government are to exercise their right as judges as to what constitutes the "Glory of God," etc., and if deemed necessary are to use their swords against other nations who, with equal sincerity, may invoke the help of God and the clerical blessing.

The next, being the seventh, illustrated page is also full of numerous pictures depicting scenes connected with the Bulgarian war. The first shows the Servian General Tankowitsch leaving Ishtip Cathedral with his staff after the Thanksgiving service celebrating the recapture of Ishtip. No doubt, if the Servian general's Bulgarian opponent had succeeded in retaining this city, he and his staff would have been the men to have given Almighty God their most profound thanks, because they had been able to kill enough Servians to hold it.

The eighth pictorial page is actually not directly devoted to militarism, and to a sane person should be one of joy. There are four illustrations portraying the royal garden party to the teachers of the United Kingdom at Buckingham Palace. Only one of these pictures carries with it a military suggestion. It is entitled,